

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 HA-05 /101 W
-----102246 231237Z /10

O R 231025Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7962
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0974

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

NAIROBI FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR YOUNG MEETS WITH JOSHUA NKOMO

REF: LUSAKA 958, DAR ES SALAAM 1220

1. SUMMARY. DURING CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND
LOW AND JOSHUA NKOMO MARCH 22, NKOMO ASKED IF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSAL WAS STILL ALIVE. HE TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO DAVID
OWEN'S CONTENTION THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD REJECTED THE
ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL AT MALTA.
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HE INDICATED THAT THERE WAS BASIC AGREEMENT ON A GOVERNING
COUNCIL BUT OTHER MATTERS REMAINED UNDECIDED. HE EXPRESSED HIS
BELIEF THAT RHODESIAN BLACKS WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE INTERNAL
AGREEMENT, THAT THE CURRENT ILLEGAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE UNABLE
TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE, AND THAT EVENTUALLY SMITH WOULD DISCARD
MUZOREWA AND TRY TO WORK OUT A DEAL WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.
NYERERE HAS ASKED HIM TO ATTEND THE FRONTLINE MEETING IN DAR,

BUT HE ALSO PLANS TO TRAVEL TO "ANOTHER DESTINATION" (LAGOS).
END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND LOW MET WITH JOSHUA NKOMO AT AMBASSADOR LOW'S RESIDENCE AFTERNOON MARCH 22. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD COME TO SOUTHERN AFRICA MAINLY WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA. HE SAID THAT IF WE COULD SETTLE THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE WESTERN FIVE, WE WOULD BE IN A MUCH STRONGER POSITION TO GET THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO AGREE TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. AS HE DID WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE (DAR 1220), HE DISCUSSED THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN SETTLEMENTS. NKOMO ASKED WHAT THE BRITISH INTENDED TO DO NOW, YOUNG ANSWERED, "I DON'T KNOW, AND I DON'T THINK THE BRITISH KNOW EITHER."

3. NKOMO THEN ASKED WHETHER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WAS DEAD. YOUNG RESPONDED THAT IT WAS NOT, ESPECIALLY VIEW OF THE SUPPORT THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS ARE NOW GIVING TO IT. LOW SAID THAT THE AAF NEEDS A BROAD BASIS OF AGREEMENT BY MOST OF THE PARTIES FOR IT TO WORK. IT REMAINS THE BEST AVENUE TO A SETTLEMENT IF THE NECESSARY AGREEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED.

4. ASKED BY NKOMO WHERE WE GO FROM HERE, YOUNG SAID THAT AT THE MOMENT THERE IS NO CLEAR SENSE OF DIRECTION. THE USG WILL NOT SUPPORT THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT, BUT OTHER GOVERNMENTS MIGHT DO SO. THUS, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO STAND STILL. HE ADDED THAT AFTER
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HIS TALKS HERE IN LUSAKA, THE FORTHCOMING FRONTLINE MEETING IN DAR, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING IN LAGOS, WE SHOULD HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF WHAT WE SHOULD DO NEXT.

5. NKOMO STATED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION REMAINED THE SAME. THEY SUPPORTED THE AAP, ALTHOUGH NOT ALL OF ITS DETAILS. THE PF IS WILLING TO ENTER INTO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS TO TRY TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES CONCERNING THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. THE STATUS OF THE MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS ARE CRUCIAL TO ANY AGREEMENT, SPECIFICALLY THE ROLE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES. HE SAID THE PF COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO DISMANTLE ITS ARMY. HE VOICED STRONG DISAGREEMENT WITH DAVID OWEN'S ASSERTION THAT AT MALTA THE PF HAD REJECTED THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP. MOREOVER, HE SAID THE PF WAS IN BASIC AGREEMENT ON THE PROPOSED COMPOSITION OF A GOVERNING COUNCIL. THE AUTHORITY OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER HAD TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE CONTEXT OF AGREEMENTS ON THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES.

6. NKOMO WENT ON TO STATE THAT BRITISH SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT SEEMED TO HIM TO BE DESIGNED TO FORCE THE PF TO NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH (THEREBY WEAKENING THE PROSPECTS FOR THE

AAF), RATHER THAN TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UK AND US WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN THE AAP.

7. LOW ASKED WHAT MUZOREWA WOULD DO WHEN HE FULLY REALIZED THAT THE WORLD WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT AND HE SEES THAT HE HAS STRUCK A BAD BARGAIN WITH SMITH. NKOMO DID NOT REPLY DIRECTLY, BUT OBSERVED THAT BEFORE LONG SMITH WOULD DISCOVER THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WILL BE UNABLE TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE. SMITH WOULD THEN DISCARD THEM AND TRY TO ARRANGE SOME SORT OF DEAL WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT SUPPORTED BY US/UK. HOWEVER, IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT SUPPORTED BY US/UK. HOWEVER, IF THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT HOLDS TOGETHER AND ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE, THEY WILL FAIL BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE. THE SAME WOULD APPLY TO ANY ATTEMPT TO HOLD A REFERENDUM TO DEMONSTRATE BLACK
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SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT. HE CLEARLY IMPLIED IT WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE PF TO USE FORCE TO PREVENT PEOPLE FROM GOING TO THE POLLS. THE PF'S POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND POPULAR SUPPORT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOR THIS PURPOSE.

7. NKOMO INDICATED HIS FUTURE PLANS WERE UNCLEAR. NYERERE HAD UNEXPECTEDLY REQUESTED HIM TO BE PRESENT IN DAR FOR THE FRONTLINE MEETING. HE WOULD HAVE TO ARRANGE A TRIP TO "ANOTHER DESTINATION" (LAGOS) EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE DAR MEETING. HE WAS NOT CERTAIN WHICH, BUT IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT HIS PLAN TO FLY TO LAGOS MARCH 23 (REFTEL) WILL BE CHANGED.
LOW

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